waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHons* of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black, 291 851 563 585

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet. 333 [132]

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers. 463

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghons* is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife". 581 587 563

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony. 582 590 585

*[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

[40]EXCOMMUNICATE TO--khioo ne ton ches literally, "to eject from the flock." For offences against religion, Buddhists may be excommunicated by the abbot or "hlóbon" for a longer or shorter period. The offender gives a goat or other offering, and is then received back into the fold. The giving of such penitential offerings is called "SHakspa cho ches." 688 779

EXORCISE TO--rdud (or drey or hlandrey) ton ches. There are two ways of exorcising evil spirits, or driving away sickness. One way is for the Láma to come into the room where the evil spirit is, and, while reading prayers, etc., to strike the air with his "dorjey phurba" or "magic dagger", thus killing or driving out the demon. The other way is to make a clay figure, and then by means of prayers, etc., to cause the evil spirit, or demon of sickness, to take up his abode in this figure which is then, amid much hissing and shouting, taken out of doors and destroyed. 155

[42]FARM--There are no farms in Ladák, the land is cultivated by peasant proprietors who, however, have to pay a land tax to the Kashmir Durbar. Each holding is termed a "zhing" or "zhing kháng" and the holder is termed "zhingrdak." For further particulars see under heading "Entail." 423 241 651

FATHER--ábá or respectfully yap the eldest father, ágoo the younger fathers. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladák. The eldest brother marries a wife and the younger brothers share her with him. It is usual for as many as three brothers to thus live together, if there are more than three brothers, some of them leave the house on their own account. All children born are considered the children of the eldest brother, but a child speaking of its "fathers" would call the eldest father "ábá" or "ábá chhenmo," the middle one "ába parma," and the young one "ába chhungan." The younger fathers may also be termed ágoo. The actual father is the "ába ngótok." 601 595 [851]

[43]FERRY--raps or chhocraps a ford, nái or toochhung a ferry boat. There are only two ferry boats in Ladák, the one is at the Shyok, crossing between Khardong and Tsáti, and the other is at the Shyok crossing at the north base of the Sasseer Pass. 505 491

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 575

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 ●851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by [434] the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or 563 4r3 443 aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--khney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

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In his own family, the Thakur told me that the rule of primogeniture was observed. He, as his father's eldest son, inherited the entire *garhpan*, and his younger brothers – known as *nono* (*No-no*) – were maintained by him as long as they lived with him. He denied that they practised polyandry in his caste (and I accepted his statement with the reservations which I have made earlier on), and assured me that younger brothers only remained at home as long as they did not marry. They did not have access to his wife, he said, and when they had found the girl of their choice, they received a small allotment upon which they had to maintain themselves and their family. Very quickly their descendants became like other landholders of a *jagir khoti*, and had to render services, or pay rent instead, to the Thakur.

Despite his denial that polyandry was practised by the Thakurs, the Wazir was very informative as to how it functioned with others. Each brother, he said, had his own room in the family house, as did the wife too. Occasionally, she lived with the eldest brother, in his room. In winter, when it was cold, in order to save fuel, they all lived in one, heated room, without any privacy. Asked if houses communicated with each other, my informant said that they did not, but that in winter, when the snow lay deep on the ground and the streets were impassable, everyone went from house to house by way of the roofs. There were trap doors above to let oneself in when the main entrance was blocked up in front by snow. Winter lasted eight months, he said.

Asked what the rules were in Lahul for sharing the common wife in a family, Partap Chand said that there were none. All brothers, he assured me, have an equal right to the woman, and access to her is very much a question of tacit and tactful understanding between the men. The old signalling method of leaving hat or beads at the door was definitely not resorted to any longer, and a capable wife was quite able to to put the weight of her influence into the balance by distributing her favours equally and fairly. Frequently, one brother remained at home, alone with the wife, while the others went off in turn on trading expeditions. Jealousy did sometimes arise, as was inevitable, and in such cases separation was nearly always the outcome of the situation. The family then had to divide up the property, and became less well off in consequence. For this reason, interest effectively checked the appearance of jealousy, as it was a luxury which could not very well be afforded by the ordinary Lahuli.

Children, "like the fields" as he put it, are the joint property of the house. No distinction is made as to who is the physiological father,

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595 [851] [842] although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'ho-rJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 855 [854] The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 428 [636] Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience showed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 [518] [187] In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *me-me* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

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595 425 428 888 such as cattle, sheep and goats in small quantities. Its dwellers also have household utensils and movable property such as furniture. These things, the size of the house, and the amount of fields and animals, vary from household to household, but are fixed quantities within each one individually; they do not change but remain the same for every succeeding generation.

595 425 428 [851] The elder son or daughter who has acquired ownership of the *k'hang-chen* takes over full proprietorship, which includes not only the rights that go with it, but also the obligations. Thus, an elder son has to look after his younger brothers, maintain them whatever their behaviour, be it good or bad (he may never disinherit them), share his wife with them and look upon the children born to him as just as much theirs as his own. Younger brothers are at liberty to leave and contract marriages elsewhere if they so wish; in actual fact, they often do become *mag-pas* of heiresses, in which case they forfeit their rights to property in the [792] *k'hang-chen* of their elder brother. Sometimes, they become lamas and join some monastery, in which case they are entitled to retain their share or give it up, as they please.

595 796 The owner of the *k'hang-chen* must see to it that the monthly *lha-bsang* (*lHa-bSang* (*aBras*)) or "god meal (of rice)" ceremony is performed. This takes place on the 10th of each month – and sometimes on the 8th too. Occasionally, a neighbour will help by holding the rite in his house for both households, and vice-versa. The New Year Tibetan festival must also be observed, as well as those agricultural feasts which occur at sowing time in February and March (*sa-kag*, *ma-zhing*) and at the harvest in October (*sGrub-lha*).

595 651 An obligation exists also to white-wash *chötens* and *mani*-walls regularly, and for some, to do the same to the walls of the castle at Leh. Death rites must be carried out, tax paid to the Kashmir government (which holds only the owner of the *k'hang-chen* responsible for this) as well as various dues and *ulag* or *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) acquitted to those to whom it is owed (government, monasteries). Divorced sisters who return home must be looked after (they have the right to live in the *k'hang-chen* and do not go to the *k'hang-gu*), and younger sons who go to Lhasa for studies and employment must have their expenses paid by the head of the family.

595 591 888 My informant, Nono Tse P'hün, told me that he had seen households in which not only the parents lived in a *k'hang-gu*, but also grandparents and even great-grandparents. In Likir, there was in 1953 a great-grandfather who had outlived everyone in the various *k'hang-gus* on

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837 beaten and obliged to pay compensation to the outraged husbands.
684 Sometimes, I heard, the lover, assisted by friends, resisted and a fight ensued, in which the husbands' party might also be reinforced by friends and relatives. In the end a third party would be brought in to arbitrate and fix the amount of compensation due, if adultery was satisfactorily proved.

837 In the case of a *mag-pa* wife, or a *mag-pa* husband, I have already mentioned above, in what I wrote on divorce proceedings, what the correct behaviour is in cases of the partners' infidelity.

As a rule, immorality is something that attempts are made to conceal, and scandals do not occur often because everyone always tries to hush them up. One of the chief difficulties that has to be faced, if such a case becomes known and has to be dealt with in the glare of public knowledge, is the problem of property. A guilty couple will have none [735] to live on and, unless they can collect sufficient means to buy themselves at least a land tenancy, they will become beggars and be forced to live on grudging public charity.

848 The fate of illegitimate children is also a sad one. In most cases,
851 hushing up the affair consists in considering a child born of an adulterous union as one of the family. Abortions are nevertheless often
847 resorted to, and in the case of unmarried girls frequently practised. In Leh, Moslem barbers are those who perform these operations. Unwanted children begotten in this way are often done away with, too, by the mother simply giving birth to the child near the river, and throwing [792] it into the water to drown. This is often the case with nuns in monasteries, who should be chaste in accordance with their vows. Most il-
848 legitimate children who live to be adult, become lamas or nuns. The
792 principal reason for this is again that they have no property and cannot
736 marry. In this way, they can live off the resources of the monastery.

5. *Dissolution of marriage by death*

595 If the eldest husband of a woman dies, the widow is automatically the
736 official wife of the surviving eldest brother of the deceased, by inher-
768 itance. No marriage ceremony need be performed. If the woman does not like to live with this man and his younger brothers as she did during the lifetime of the eldest, but at the same time, does not like to leave the family household or to take yet another husband different from those she has had so far, or, again, if the surviving eldest brother does not wish to keep her as his wife, she is entitled in all these cases, to maintenance by the family. This takes the form of a piece of land

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595 115 591 888 Sonam, the eldest son of the heiress living in the little house on the family property with her *mag-pa*, was our informant. He told us that his mother and father had moved from the big house, in which he lived, some ten years ago. With them, went the youngest sister, then still unmarried, Chorol. The two eldest sisters, Putit and Yangdzen, were already married out in *bag-ma* at the time. The eldest, Putit, was married in polyandry in the Goba household, and I asked Nono Tse-P'hün to take us on to that family next, which he did.

888 591 As soon as Sonam and his two brothers, Rabgye and P'huntzok Stobldan, had married Tsewang Putit, they had taken the *k'hang-chen* over. Very soon afterwards, Sonam Dorje, their eldest child and only son, now aged eight, was born, and subsequently they had had three daughters, now aged six, five and two respectively.

Chorol had only recently been married off in *bag-ma* to Tashi Murup of the Raku household; that was the reason for which she did not yet have any children.

P'hüntzok Stobldan, so Nono Tse-P'hün told me later, although the youngest husband of the common wife, whom he shared with his brothers, was not happy in polyandry. He wanted very much to leave and become the *mag-pa* husband of an heiress: the daughter of one Gyurmed (*aGyur-med*), the head of a household which I have marked down in my notes as being called *Tiapa*. This must be a mistake, however, as the sound *Tia* does not exist in Tibetan (it may perhaps be *Tra-pa*).

114 199

Tsewang Putit was standing outside the house, near the entrance gate to the compound, during the conversation which we had with her eldest husband just inside the main room. We went out again to take a group photograph of the family (see Fig. 38), and when I had done this, I turned and spoke to her through the interpreter. She was holding her youngest child, the little girl, Sonam Putit, in her arms, and I asked if she could tell me who its father was.

595 85 126

She looked surprised and looked away. I insisted, but she shook her head, and Nono Tse P'hün said that she could not tell. I then suggested that she could surely calculate backwards as to who the father was, and find out who was with her at the probable time of conception. This was put to her, but she still refused to say. Finally, after the interpreter had teased her somewhat, and the husbands had laughed her into talking, she said that she was an honest woman, and did not have any preference. This seemed to satisfy Sonam and the others very much, for they shook their heads approvingly and looked at Nono Tse P'hün as he translated to me. It was obvious that Tsewang Putit had said the

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right thing. It was very characteristic of the morality of polyandrous people in Ladak. I noticed, furthermore, in the Od-ldan household, that all fathers of the polyandrous family, Sonom, Rabgye and P'hunt-zok Stobldan, were called *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*) "father" by their children, without there being made any distinction between elder, middle, or little father, as was more usual elsewhere.

That afternoon, we went on to visit the *Goba* (*mGo-pa*) household close by. Here too, we found the parents in the *k'hang-gu* and the married children living in polyandry, with their own children, in the *k'hang-chen*. Putit of Od-ldan, who was the lady of the house here, received us and acted as informant. I made the genealogy of the family which I give here, in Table 30.

Two brothers, Lobsang and Ishe Dön-drup, were married polyandrously to Tashi Dzom-pa, whose household name I do not know. They had seven children and when the eldest boy, Tashi, got married, together with his two brothers, Padma and Sonam Tashi, to Putit of the Od-ldan household, they immediately left the *k'hang-chen* to them and went and lived in the *k'hang-gu*. They were there now, but we were unable to see them, as they had gone to Leh for the day. Lobsang was now dead, and Ishe Dön-drup lived alone with Tashi Dzompa. Their field was cultivated for them by their children of the *k'hang-chen*, so that the old people had a peaceful time.

They had always been alone in the *k'hang-gu*, as they had never had any unmarried daughters to stay with them. Ku-skid and Tsering Palkid were married off in *bag-ma* very early, so early in the case of the last daughter, that the informant could not give us the name of her husband.

The second son of the household, Stanzin, had not accepted Putit as a common wife, and had preferred to leave and go as a *mag-pa* to the heiress of a neighbouring house, Tsering Rolma of P'ho-la. It was difficult to get details from Putit about this and we did not press her, feeling that her reticence was natural. There was another *mag-pa* in the family, Dön-drup Sonam, who was married to Yangskid, heiress of the household which my notes have as Jigsten-pa.

Putit herself had had five children with her three husbands, one boy and four girls, all of whom called their fathers *ap'ha* (*A-p'ha*), indiscriminately, as in the previous case.

On the 1st September 1938, I went to yet another polyandrous household of Leh, called *Mahe* (*Ma-he*). It, too, was in the outskirts of the town and Nono Tse-P'hün and I found it at the end of a long passage between two walls delimitating fields, as is often the custom in Ladak.